1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

361 195 Perry's men, the aspect of these villages was one of rare and romantic beauty.[3]

2

Hanashiro

361 103 [491] Hanashiro is a small village of the cluster type in Gushichan township (Gushichan-son) in the southeastern part of Okinawa.[4] It is on the present Highway 64 which begins on the Chinen peninsula, travels southwesterly, following the coast at a distance to Mabuni in the southeast, then crossing the island to Nagushiku town, a village south of Itoman.

361 241 443 256 162 The village and its surroundings are small in area, the actual town site including various village owned properties, taking up slightly over 22 acres. This is an agricultural village, with the exception of minor activities such as storekeeping and rice milling. As of December 31, 1951, it had a population of 589 (269 male, 320 female), living together in 120 households, an average of 4.9 persons per household.

361 [103] [491] The village is believed to have been founded about 400 years ago. By Okinawan standards this is not very old. It is off the main historical road which ran from Naha to Shuri to Kochinda, Gushichan, Minatogawa, through Tamagusuku township to the Chinen peninsula, probably the road travelled by Okinawan kings up to the latter part of the seventeenth century when they prayed at the altars on Kudaka Island.[5] There were in this area a series of castles on the tops of hills commanding the road and its approaches, the castles, the rough determinants of various regions formerly under a regional nobility. To the west there was Kochinda castle, Tamagusuku on the east, Gushichan castle near Hanashiro, where a surviving stone fence can still be seen, and the castle site of Itokazu. There is reason for believing, as we mentioned in Chapter 1, that this is in the general area of oldest settlement in the island.

195 349 631

[Text continues on P. 49 --analyst]

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. I, 163, 164, 179-80, and an illustration of a "cung-qua" on p. 180. On the older village with granaries and storehouses, see Green's remarks in Hawks, Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. II, 34, 36, and illustration in Vol. I, 178.

[103] [192] 4 The village is also known as Hanagusuku; the meaning is the same, as shiro is the Japanese, gusuku the Okinawan word for castle. Many Okinawan place names have the suffix, —gusuku.

5 Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo, as cited, 107.

361
351 The village is a group of houses, each with its own compound, and these give it an inclosed look. There are few if any gardens or vegetable patches either in the compounds or within the village settlement.

363 The lanes resemble quiet winding country roads. The rock fences, or the lines of trees or shrubbery often conceal the houses. There is an appearance of loneliness in these lanes and roads, except at busy times of the day when the children return from school. The lack of commercial [482] activity, except for the women carrying rice on their heads to the mill 462 and for the small village stores, contributes to this impression of quiet, which one would expect from the routine of agriculture. At night, when [354] the doors are drawn, and when the flickering and smoky oil lamps are lit, the loneliness and quiet of the village is even more pronounced. The [493] lanes and the roads are deserted, save for an occasional passing truck, bicycle, or three wheeled cycle, and in one of the favorite words of all [192] Okinawans, the place is sabishii.[6]

366 Since there is little activity in the village other than farming, 368 neighboring villages and distant towns supply the additional needs. At nearby Gushichan village, there are the primary and junior high schools, the post office, the township and agricultural association offices, a barbershop, and some small stores. At Minatogawa, about one and one half miles away, there is a public bath, and across the river from this village, in Horikawa, an occasional play from the Okinawan stage, or a movie. Buses run through the village twice a day and one can make [494] connections to Naha or Itoman, the two most likely places for buying or selling. Or one can take the three wheeled cycles which pass through more frequently.

127 Physically, the village was much affected by the war. On June 11, 362 1945, the front line ran through the cultivated area between Hanashiro and Gushichan villages. Hill 95, the scene of fierce fighting was in the vicinity of Hanashiro.[7] One can still see an occasional tank track, abandoned helmets and scattered fragments of war materials in the fields. The village was affected by the war in ways which are now observable [355] indirectly in the makeshift houses, improvised shacks, the roofs of half tile and half thatch, the odd additions to the older buildings partly destroyed, and the lack of drain pipes and water catchment tanks. Houses, which to superficial appearance, have existed for generations, have [311] been rebuilt since the war with grass substituting for the tile roofs. War operations over the cultivated areas also resulted in some loss of land. A long mound in the rice areas, with paths along its ridge, was formerly a road built by the Americans in the final drive toward Mabuni. Almost all the houses in the village were destroyed.

6 This Japanese word suggests both loneliness and melancholy.

7 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 437 (illustration), 434-42 on the struggle for Hill 95.

this time. Upon completing the house, the owner gives a party for those who helped him. During the last day of work, with the party scheduled for the evening, the workmen strive feverishly to complete the house on time. This is a party to celebrate a task completed. Sake flows freely. Occasionally on the last day, a man walks around the house talking to himself and throws salt toward the inside of the house. His words are not formalized and not known to his hearers. After finishing throwing the salt, he bangs the back of the house three times with a stick. This custom is said to be gradually disappearing, and is only occasionally practiced in Matsuda.[9]

In Hanashiro, there is a similar custom that differs in details. On the date the house is started, there is a small ceremony. A plate containing boiled rice, bean curd, a kind of fritter (tenpura in Japanese) and meat, together with a flask of sake are placed in the center of the site on which the house is to be built. Prayers are offered that the house be a good one. The ceremony of raising the roof is identical with that previously described in Matsuda. This applies only to the raising of the ridge pole, no ceremonies taking place with the erecting of the side poles. The center board, near to or nailed to the ridge pole, and from which the articles wrapped in a leaf or in sea weed are suspended, is inscribed with the word, shibiranka. Its meaning is unknown to me. One villager said it was the name of a legendary Chinese protector of houses.

In one instance from Minatogawa, instead of the salt, charcoal, and bean paste, only a bit of charcoal (tsumi in Japanese) was suspended and wrapped in seaweed (kombu in Japanese).

About 20 years ago in Hanashiro, the celebration on the day of completion was much more elaborate than now. A pig was killed, fish purchased, and a large feast was prepared to which the whole village was invited. The celebration now is confined to relatives, friends, and helpers, including the carpenter, whether hired or a volunteer.

In Minatogawa, when a good house is being built, there is the custom of going to a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese) to discover the lucky day for commencing construction. This may be repeated to find the lucky day for putting up the poles and supports or putting on the roof. Here also a son about to establish a branch household and to build his own house takes a food offering to his father's house, places it on the Buddhist god shelf, gives thanks, and prays for good fortune before construction starts. When the house has been completed, similar offerings are made, either before the god shelf of the new house, if it has been installed, or again at the father's house. In this village, the usual observances are confined to the raising of the roof and to the celebration following completion of the home.

One last custom observed in all the villages is that one does not move into a new house unless the tide is coming in. Other occasions in which the tide is taken into consideration will be discussed later. The idea here seems to be that one moves at times of growing fullness and increase not at times of ebb and withdrawal.

9 I was unable to secure any explanation of the reason for this and the other practices beyond the familiar statement that "it is a custom." (shukan)

One of these, the shimba (nnihija in Okinawan) is essentially a concave forked piece of metal set on a frame, which in turn rests on four props set up in sawbuck fashion. The rice sheaves are drawn through the teeth, causing the kernels to drop below. The sawbuck may be any desired height. Usually the top of the fork is waist level. The only significance of the shimba today is that it provides diversion and occupation for the old women, many of whom are too weak or too unsteady to operate the treadle thresher. The same is true of an even simpler device for threshing. Two short pieces of bamboo, or any piece of round wood, a little longer and with a slightly greater diameter than a pair of chopsticks, are loosely tied together on one end with straw or a strong blade of grass. The tied ends of the two sticks are held in the right hand, leaving the free ends to strip off the rice kernels from the straw. This labor is done by very old women. Age is no deterrent to work as long as people are able to get around. But, as in the south, the treadle thresher is universally used. This device was widely distributed by the Japanese agricultural specialists of the government throughout the empire in the years immediately before the war. In Matsuda, it is also thought to be about 15 years since its introduction.

As in Japan, from which the terms were borrowed, rice in various stages of cultivation and processing is known by different names. Rice in the hull is momei; unpolished rice is genmai, and polished rice is hakumai. Rice stalks are known as wara.

Hulling and polishing rice by machinery are also new in Okinawan villages. In Hanashiro, those machines driven by an open belt are about ten years old. A hand mill, the shiriushi, to be described shortly, was in general use for polishing rice up to 1940.

At present everyone, no matter how poor, pays for hulling and polishing of his rice. The mill owner in Hanashiro estimated that the machinery processed in ten minutes the amount of rice that formerly took a day to hull and polish by hand. Poor families do not try to effect savings by hand work. They pay the fee, sell the polished rice, and eat sweet potatoes.

Unpolished rice is disliked and is never eaten. It is described as hard and bitter in taste. The machinery in a rice mill varies from place to place in quality and modernity. The mill (seimaisho) has two machines: a hulling machine (momitsuriki) and a polishing machine (seimaiki). One simple type of a hulling machine is an endless chain type of mechanism. The rice is put in little buckets on the chain which carry it to rubber layers. As the rice is forced through the layers, the hulls are cracked and pinched off, and are then blown out on a pile in back. After being hulled, the rice goes through the shaft of the milling machine. The shaft housing is grooved. As the shaft revolves, it polishes the rice which is going through it. The shaft also gets heated, and this makes the polishing easier. In the older machine in Hanashiro, the rice was put through the shaft ten times

In Hanashiro, the fish were raised for sale by the young men's association. The supply of fish is too uncertain and too seasonal for these remedies to be an effective part of the traditional medicine. Like the native plants, and many of the traditional medical practices, they are yielding to the drugs which can be found in the small village shops: stomach and headache powders, eye lotions, aspirin, and other pharmaceuticals and patent medicines.

The economic and occupational organization of village fishing is very informal. Partnerships are made on a basis of friendship and continue so until one party, for any reason, decides to leave. There are about 40 of these partnerships among the 120 odd adult fishermen.[2] The fishermen of the village also have a fisherman's association (suisankumiai) similar in function to the agricultural associations which the Japanese instituted throughout the empire. This association has a head (suisankumiaichō). Like so many official and administrative jobs in a village, these offices are thrust upon the man. He seldom seeks them. In the larger places where there is more remuneration, the man might seek the job. The head of the association is chosen by the fishermen of the village. He receives Y10 a month for each fisherman he represents. This is a supplementary job, as he could not exist on this sum. Lack of cash prevents any ambitious services to the membership. The association buys and sells gas and oil, nets, lines, hooks, and other necessary items which have been imported either from the United States or from Japan. Occasionally, the association has sufficient funds for small temporary loans for purchasing imported gear, loans from Y100 to Y 500 for a period of a week or two. The main function of the association is the exchange of information between the local head and representatives from the larger association in Naha. This becomes a study of the daily market demands; the information provided is a guide to fishermen in meeting the demand. This is all very informal. The head of the association circulates among the fishermen, giving them tips on what to expect and how prices are going.

7

The Rough Language of Hinatogawa

The Hinatogawans have one characteristic which is not shared by their agricultural neighbors of Nagano, nor indeed by any of the agricultural villages. This is their rough (arai) language, so described by Hinatogawans with a certain amount of pride. This language, if used in the other village, would be considered insulting. It is notable for the freedom with which nicknames, some funny, some disparaging, some pointed at infirmities, are used.

2 The word used here is kumiai but actually these partnerships do not have the organized co-operative character that this word usually implies when used in an economic sense.

A munchu was made up of a number of households or families united through the male line, descended from a common ancestor, and sharing a common tomb. Village endogamy was an obligatory marriage practice and violations did not pass unpunished; in addition kin group endogamy was a preferred practice, though not necessarily an obligatory one. Intervillage contacts and ties, consequently, were held to a minimum. These customs were followed by the majority of the oldest generation now living, and even today such practices tend to persist in rural areas. A survey in Kanegusuku revealed that fifty percent of the marriages were between members of the same kin group and sixty-six percent of the marriages were between residents of the same village. Such practices, to be sure, are breaking down, and this becomes evident when the above data are analyzed on an age basis, but in view of the fact that these customs still prevail, though to a more limited extent than formerly, it is not surprising that so considerable a diversity of dialects should also be preserved.

Another facet of Okinawan dialect geography is the occurrence of small speech-islands exhibiting dialects distinct from those of the surrounding areas. These are the so called yaadui settlements founded during the 18th and 19th centuries by migrants from the Naha-Shuri area; the newcomers were usually the younger sons of gentry families seeking their livelihood in the country. Such settlements not only enjoyed a political independence from the larger surrounding communities but also were never incorporated into the formal religious system centering on the nuru priestess and unifying the rural areas. These factors together with previously-mentioned marriage practices enabled such settlements to preserve their identity. Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son serves as a good example of this type of village, having been settled seven generations ago by the younger sons of gentry families residing in Naha and Shuri. The larger neighboring villages never absorbed Kitazato, and to this day it preserves a dialect quite distinct from theirs. The most notable contrast between them centers on the p and h sounds in the two dialects, for all p sounds of nearby Oushiken are rendered h in Kitazato; thus, the word for "fire" is pi in the dialect of the former and hi in the latter's.

Undoubtedly this dialectic diversity is decreasing as the old customs die out and the isolation of the village disappears. The war uprooted many communities and scattered their inhabitants about the island, and nearly all villages now have a number of families new to the village since the war. New communities like the entertainment center of Koza have no characteristic dialect of their own, containing as they do a heterogeneous population recruited from all parts of the Ryukyus. The vast improvements in roads and transportation services since the end of the war have given the people a mobility undreamed of in the prewar period and have done much to destroy the isolation of the rural areas.

"Uchinaaguchi". Okinawans call their dialect uchinaaguchi and themselves uchinaanchu. The terms 'Okinawago', Japanese for Okinawan language, and 'hōgen', Japanese for dialect, are also in common usage though the latter term is resented by some who feel that it carries the connotation "rustic". Today all Okinawan speech contains many loan words from Japanese; this obtains for those who know no Japanese as well as for those who are bilingual. Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has

But it is significant that the several lists collected are identical in structure, that is, they all classify relatives in the same way. Also, everywhere some Japanese terms are replacing some Okinawan terms. I shall describe the Okinawan system unchanged first and then indicate what the recent changes have been.

As in many kinship systems there is a distinction between terms used primarily in referring to relatives and terms used primarily in addressing them. And as in many societies terms of address are used for all persons older than the speaker, for unrelated persons as well as for relatives. The terms that are used in reference only, never or seldom as terms of address, are terms corresponding to each of the following: parent, child, grandparent, grandchild, uncle, aunt, sibling's child (that is, meaning both "nephew" and niece"), brother, sister, cousin. In addition there are two terms meaning "older" and "younger" and a series of terms meaning "first son", "second son", "third son", etc., which combined with the word for "woman" gives a series meaning "first daughter", "second daughter", etc. Another group of terms is used both in address and in reference, but is probably primarily terms of address; these are in address extended to non-kin, but in their basic meaning they correspond to each of the following: grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, uncle, aunt (these last two are different from those given above), older brother, older sister. To see how these terms are used let us look at each generation in turn.

The terms "grandfather" and "grandmother" are used in addressing one's parents' parents and also in addressing their brothers and sisters, that is, one's great uncles and great aunts and also non-relatives of the same generation as one's grandparents or older. (The term given above as "grandparent" is restricted to actual relatives; its basic meaning is said to be "parent's parent" but in common usage it is extended to mean ancestors above the grandparents' generation as well.) Within the brothers and sisters of one's grandparents the members of each family are further distinguished by relative age. The oldest of several brothers is "big grandfather" and the youngest "little grandfather". Women classified as "grandmothers" are similarly distinguished. These distinguishing terms may also be used in reference. Non-relatives may also be referred to by such terms as "the grandfather of such-and-such a house", using the "yagō" (house name).

The terms for relatives in the parents' generation are likewise extended. Although there are both terms of reference for uncle and aunt and terms of address, the terms "father" and "mother" are (or were) frequently used when addressing the brothers and sisters of both parents and their spouses. And as with the grandperent terms, one's father's oldest brother and mother's oldest brother are both called "big father" and their oldest sisters "big mother". The wife of a "big father" is also a "big mother" and so forth. On the other hand, a parent's youngest brother and youngest sister are called "little uncle" and "little aunt", rather than "little father" or "little mother". The terms "uncle" and "aunt" are also extended to non-kin, as polite titles of address.

By combining the terms "older" and "younger" with "brother" and "sister", one can express the equivalent of the four Japanese sibling terms,

"older brother", "younger brother", "older sister", and"younger sister". But these terms are never used in address. Two unrelated terms for "older brother" and "older sister" are used in addressing older siblings and older cousins, while younger siblings and younger cousins are addressed by name. These two terms may also be politely extended to non-relatives. One's children, nephews, nieces, grandchildren, and other younger relatives are also addressed by name rather than by kinship terms. However, a younger person who is a stranger may be addressed as "older brother" or "older sister" out of courtesy.

For in-laws, there are terms of reference: husband, wife, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, and one including spouse's parents and siblings, which can be combined with other words for more specific reference. But none of these terms is used in address. Instead one uses the terms of address proper for one's spouse; the father-in-law is called "father", and so forth, at least until one has children. There is one exception; there is a separate term of address for an older brother's wife. A wife addresses her husband by the polite pronoun "you" and he addresses her by the familiar one.

All that has just been said about terms used in addressing relatives must be qualified by the statement that it is true only until one has children of his own. After the birth of the first child, or perhaps after it begins to understand speech, one begins to call his wife "mother", his father "grandfather", and so forth. He may do this in the child's absence as well. As one informant put it, the whole system shifts to make the child its center.

It will be seen that the Okinawan kinship system is bilateral, that is, it treats the father's relatives and the mother's relatives in the same way; a father's brother and a mother's brother are both "uncles". In this respect it is like the Japanese system and like our own, and unlike the Chinese system, which distinguished father's brothers and mother's brothers by separate terms. It will also be seen that like our own system the generations are clearly distinguished (in some systems relatives of different generations are lumped into the same category), but unlike our system the Okinawan system distinguishes seniors and juniors within a generation. The Japanese system distinguishes older and younger siblings of the speaker but not older and younger siblings of the speaker's parents. The Chinese system also distinguishes older and younger siblings in the speaker's generation and further distinguishes father's older and younger brothers, but lumps mother's older and younger brothers into a single separate category. What the Okinawan system does, and what makes it different from both the Japanese and the Chinese systems, is to single out the oldest in each generation while at the same time, by extending even the terms "father" and "mother" bilaterally, it suggests a unity of all those within the same generation. This accords in a general way, I believe, with the deference to seniors that is characteristic of all social relationships, with the importance of senior lines in the larger kinship groups, and with the essential unity of the local group despite its division into kin groups.

In the last generation certain changes have occurred in the use of kinship terms widely, perhaps everywhere, on Okinawa. The Japanese terms of address, especially those for "father", "mother", "uncle", and "aunt", have begun to replace the native terms. At the same time the practice of extending

601 the native terms for "father" and "mother" to uncles and aunts is going out
177 of use. Thus in structure as well as in the terms themselves the Okinawan
192 system is moving in the direction of the Japanese.

552 Maintaining Continuity: House Names Every house has a name (yaanunaa,
613 Japanese 'yagō'). This name, in the case of the older houses, may be descriptive of its location or may be taken from the place of origin of the founder. Insofar as possible a man's first son should succeed him as head of his house. If a man's first son rebuilds the house or even moves it, its name usually remains the same. When younger sons establish their own houses the house of the first son is called the "main house" (muutuyaa, J. 'honke') and the younger sons' houses "branch houses" (tatchiyaa, J. 'bunke'). The branch houses take their house names from the house name of the main house. Thus if the main house is called Taba, a branch house may be called Taba-gwaa, "little Taba". If there are several Taba-gwaa, they may be distinguished by directions such as agari, "east", iri, "west", or by the birth order of their founders, as jinan Taba-gwaa, "second-son little Taba", and so forth. If a family line has been in a village for several generations there may be branch houses of branch houses. In such a case the earlier branch house is a main house to its branch houses while still in the status of branch house to the house of the founder of the line. In such cases new elements may be introduced into the naming system; a branch of a Taba-gwaa might be mii-Taba-gwaa, "new little Taba". If there are several branches and branches of branches the original main house (in Japanese, the 'sōhonke') may come to be called ufu-Taba, "great Taba". Thus the relationship of a number of houses in a village may be shown by the names used for them. The house names of a village are surprisingly well-known by the members of a village, even by the children, better known than either the surnames or given names of the inhabitants.[1]

55 Personal Names Before the Japanese annexation the two main social
177 classes on Okinawa differed in the sorts of names they bore. Members of the
546 gentry (yukatchu, "superior people", or samuree, cognate of the Japanese 'sa-
614 murai') belonged to patrilineal common descent groups called uji. These uji each had a name consisting of a single Chinese character, often a Chinese surname. Also, different lineages within each uji each bore surnames that were mainly Okinawan place names; these were taken from the names of villages and larger administrative units where the founders of the lineages served as officials. And in addition, each male member of the gentry class had a given name consisting of two characters read in the Chinese manner (that is, the Okinawan version of the Japanese 'on-yomi'). These were called toonaa, "Chinese names". In each uji the first of the two characters in all names was the same. Thus, to give an example, in the Hyō uji there are three lineages bearing the surnames Moromizato, Itosu, and Higa, but all males in the uji regardless of surname bear given names that begin with the character An. Thus Moromizato Ansei and Itosu Angō are seen to be kinsmen despite the difference in surname. These are the names of two men living today. Had they lived before the annexation they might also have designated themselves for official purposes by what look like proper Chinese names, Hyō Ansei and Hyō Angō.

[1] For a more detailed account of the house-naming system see Glacken, 1953, pp. 115-122.

as the case may be. The munchu has a common tomb or several common tombs, a circuit of ugwanju (sacred spots for worship, connected in tradition to the founder of the munchu), and several kaminchu (religious functionaries of a semi-hereditary status). Well-established branch munchu may have their own tombs, circuits of ugwanju, and kaminchu. If this is the case the main house of the branch is called the naka-muutu, "middle root", and the main house of the larger unit the ufu-muutu, "great root". In the absence of written records the exact relationship of the different branches of one of the larger units may occasionally be reinterpreted by the kaminchu and by yuta (seeresses). 614

The members of a munchu need not, and often do not, have the same surname. The usual explanation given for this is that a new surname has entered the munchu through a member's having been adopted as a son-in-law. According to Japanese law a man who married the daughter of a family with no male heirs became an adopted son-in-law and his children bore his wife's surname. But according to Okinawan custom the ancestral tablets of the woman's parents can go only to a male relative in the male line. The "adopted son-in-law" cannot inherit the tablets; they will go later to a brother's son or grandson. And the children of the "adopted son-in-law" belong to their paternal grandfather's munchu, even though by law they had to take their maternal grandfather's surname. This practice goes back only to the end of the last century. Before the Japanese annexation it is not likely that many peasants had surnames; those they later took were probably taken from house names. An informant in Chinen-Son, however, gave another explanation why some of the members of his munchu had different surnames. He said that under the old government some had been given surnames for having served as petty officials at the office of the local governor. He named three surnames locally used that were given to officials of the three lowest ranks. 614 551 [171] [177]

Among the descendants of the former gentry class the largest kinship unit is the uji. This term is identical with one of the older Japanese terms translated as "clan". The uji have names that are single Chinese characters, some of them identical with Chinese surnames. The members of an uji may bear different surnames of the native sort; the explanation for this is that under the former monarchy, when a member of the gentry was appointed to the office of governor of a majiri (the present "Son") or appointed official of a village, he was able to take the name of that majiri or village as his surname. Thus the members of an uji may be divided into several lines, each claiming descent from some illustrious official. These divisions may also be named chakushi-firugi, "first-son-lineage", jinan-firugi, "second-son-lineage", and so forth, according to seniority. Despite their different surnames, however, the male members of an uji usually have given names written with two characters read in the Chinese manner (that is, the Okinawan version of the 'on-yomi' of Japanese), the first of the two characters being the same. To give an example, the Ryō uji consists of three lineages with the surnames Moromizato, Itosu, and Higa, all the males of which have given names beginning with the character An. [192] [177]

In the village of Yamada in Onna-Son, many of the kin units of both the commoners and the gentry who settled there late in the last century are small local divisions of larger units the main houses of which are in the 613

and women. Two informants who had lived in Japan denied having ever heard of public baths with mixed bathing. Okinawans have occasionally been shocked by seeing Americans nude. Okinawans feel that not only should the lower part of the torso be covered for the sake of modesty but the upper part also should be covered, if one is out of doors, for reasons of health; the sun's rays are harmful if too strong. Modesty may even reach proportions uncommon in the West; one young man told Lebra that he does not enjoy going swimming because he believes he is too hairy. The same young man told how he and other boys, when in high school, used to peep through a crack in the bathhouse wall in order to see the women bathing on the other side, until they were chased away by the proprietor. This hardly suggests the casual attitude toward nudity reported for the Japanese. 291 834 [515] [326]

Body Ornamentation The Okinawans seem never to have practiced any sort of body mutilation---such as the Chinese foot-binding. However, women were tattooed on the wrists and backs of the hands until early in this century. Most women over 50 have tattooed hands. There are several stories told that purport to explain the origin of the practice---that it was to prevent Okinawan women from being kidnapped, for example---but these stories are of doubtful value. The designs have names but evidently no meaning; one old woman said that they varied with the tattoo artist, who put on whatever he wanted. Tattooing was done before puberty and marriage. It may have originally been part of a puberty rite. 178 304

Many people of both sexes between the ages of 20 and 40 have elaborate gold and silver work on their teeth. In many cases the work does not consist of fillings or bridges but of thin caps put over sound teeth for purely ornamental reasons. These can be removed without harming the teeth. People are said to be having this sort of work done today, but in time the value Americans and present-day Japanese put on "natural-looking" teeth may win out over the urge to ornament the mouth. Of course there is also a great deal genuine dental work done because of tooth decay. 301 [77]

At present American values and modern Japanese values in feminine beauty are being spread by the beauty parlor. For several years the permanent wave has been popular though perhaps not well suited to Mongoloid hair. And recently a number of young women are said to have added padded brassieres to their equipment. 177 832 [305] [302] [294]

Elimination Urination and defecation are regarded differently. Urination in public is permissible for males, if they turn away. I have seen a dignified old gentleman talking over his shoulder to a young woman while he urinated into the ditch. Women may also urinate in public, though they do so less frequently. Defecation in public is not usual; even children are scolded for it though they may occasionally do it. Feces ought to go in the proper place; one reason for using the toilet may be that the "night-soil" is used as fertilizer. 514 [863] [241]

The Okinawan term kusu is used rather more freely than its Japanese cognate, though the uses are parallel. Alone it means "feces", human or animal. It is the usual word for animal manure. In compounds it may mean 192

192 any kind of body dirt or excretion, as mii-kusu, "sleep" in the eyes, haa-
[578] kusu, "stains on the teeth". As in Japanese it is used also in cursing; in
774 anger an Okinawan may say, "I'll make you eat feces." A similar phrase,
[775] kusu takkwee, "eat feces", is often spoken after someone, especially a baby, sneezes. It is explained that the custom arose when a person once overheard two ghosts plotting to steal a baby's soul (mabui), which may be easily detached by a sneeze; one of the ghosts revealed that if a living person spoke the phrase it would be sufficient to drive him away. The fact that the phrase is used in anger suggests that it is an undesirable one; that it is used in the case of sneezing probably demonstrates the greater fear of ghosts.

831 Sex Practices and attitudes related to marriage have been discussed under that heading in Chapter V. The sex drive seems to be regarded as
844 natural and not sinful. Adults playfully tweak the penises of little boys and may put little children of both sexes to sleep by prolonged patting of the buttocks. They do not tell their children about the nature of sex and expect them not to know, yet the children hear much thinly-disguised discussion of sexual relationships and, sleeping with their parents as they do, may be vaguely aware of their parents' relations. Parents expect their children to learn of sex "naturally" as they grow older. As Maloney reports[1], [839] there is little masturbation among small children, but two of Pitts' informants reported that adolescent boys sometimes hold masturbation contests to see who can ejaculate the fastest. This practice is said to stop with the beginning of heterosexual activity.

836 Formerly adolescents, except for girls of the gentry class, seem
883 to have had some sexual freedom. The practice of meeting in the fields at
178 night for parties, moo-ashibii, often led to sexual relations. According to informants in one community syphilis was brought in late in the last century through moo-ashibii with the youths of a neighboring village. Pre-marital sexual relations are probably frequent today, though the conditions under which young people meet are changing.

837 Married women are expected to have relations with only their hus-
548 bands, but married men are, in theory, limited only by their finances. There exists in the larger towns a relatively large class of women called juri, who function as both entertainers and prostitutes. (There is no distinction, like the Japanese distinction between 'geisha' and 'jorō'.) The [178] jurimuyaa, "juri houses", were formerly centers of social life for the men of the city. The present 'ryōtei' have much the same function. A group of men may spend an evening there eating and drinking and being entertained by dancing and singing. If one chooses to remain and "buy a woman" his wife's only objection to it can be that it costs more money.

838 Homosexuality is evidently rare, but not unknown. A Naha woman reported that a Japanese who lived in a room next to hers was in the habit of luring young boys into his room with good food and then seducing them, sometimes to their physical discomfort. She said that some of the neighbors

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1 Maloney, 1945, p. 392.